Yokuts NS29

1: Gayton
●796

[For information on the annual mourning ceremonies, see Category 769. --Analyst]

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čnɨm (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´nɨm (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tinɨm (relatives, or "my own folks",. It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of 616 making a payment for a totemic animal was ●796 called siwa´lunɨts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took [231 it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never 184] kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the [778] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

[p.29b]

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[73] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'ɛn (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

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[73] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew 276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen [752] and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

For fractures the skin was scarified all 752 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, 276 mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was 276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, 789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

● 796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood recalled a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č‹k, who 756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, 825 not the Nutunutu, lived."[55]

Toič‹k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič‹k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´wes.

796 [184] The Bear Dance was made by the people of the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

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[115] [55] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsamni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

[P. 40 b] Chunut

796 had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (ṭ·pni ha´tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these
796 songs had words. Two of them which J.A. recalls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and
539 the following:

ma´'an(a) gut hoi´yiuh·n
you that come back

pa´wus mai´y[illegible] ye´ha ye·e·e·e·'ha
seeds are coming, coming

uya´yi uya´yi
[exclamation]

hot·nih·´nke wača´ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

his´ma ṭa'iho´awa
now reddening

so´pas inana´he
[a plant with red berries]

wi´ya ṭa´ho'iwah·n
will be reddening

796 At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (son·l) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his son·l over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

[P. 419] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing,^a people who had long illnesses would be brought [755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits [184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he [756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´x̌ɔt) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

535 517 574 Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently held. A chief might give such little parties (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house. His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good [534] time," and neither singers nor dancers were paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

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[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

^a[i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

[P. 429] Tachi

756 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´p·t) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 535 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

765 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[108]

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[108] Handbook, 501.

[P. 45a]

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

● 796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet‹ts, a great talker.

796 The singer accompanists wore their usual
ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and
668 skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole
instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwɨl).
[534] J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni
na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam
(going around or circling dance) and also
hi´'thɨ´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by
668 the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression.
535 When, each night, the dance was being
performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 The dance ended at break of day. Then
everyone went swimming. They ran to the water
668 as fast as possible, men and women together.
[443] On the way back they picked up wood for their
breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Čo'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

On the last day of the Ghost Dance a
[535] special rite called the Horse Dance was performed.
[825] Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tɨpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´ a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 Then word that the white settlers were
668 coming to kill them ended the affair and sent
the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible
648 torture from the whites flew about. On their
way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

[P. 476] Paleuymi

789 and lost continuously. People teased him unduly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (ai´nɛč) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čɛn revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Pušlɛlɛn, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

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276 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; although she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai´'ɛts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

[[illegible]a] Paltuyami

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When
276 each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader
called prayerfully upon "god" (ṭɩ´pnɩm; supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying,
"You gave us this. Now these people are going
to drink it for you. Give them a good life;
let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done
in the late afternoon. The participants fell
[262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking.
A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed
the rite.

[769] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in
houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased
persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here
in the prehuman era.

[P. 48 b] Paleuyami:

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

● 796 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi `ha´tɨm) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek.
668 D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

[P. 52b] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616

Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796

Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756

Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237

Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435]

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757]

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 53a] Tubatulabal NS22

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● 796
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If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

T
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[833]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

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The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

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[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

T
Y ●

● 796 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A 276 shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nək ma ana´təlhɨn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´'ɨt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" T Y [551] emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T Y 756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T Y 796 668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. T Y [302] They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

[P. 115b] Wukchumni

789
825 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in
the fields in spring as they would startle the
snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ṭa) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the
[823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused
by ghosts.

Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush
825 and whistled to people when it was time for
them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no
other bird or animal who did such a thing.

At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming
776 pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who
pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger
went to swim there, she would grab his feet and
pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a
flood came bringing quantities of sand which
spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it
552 cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

Evenings spent in pleasure with profession-
796 al entertainment occurred not more than once a
month in any one village, as there was so much
intertribal and intervillage visiting for all
such festivities. The kind of dances that were
given by the shamans depended upon the chief's
choice. His winatum would tell the shamans
what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver
Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed
by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed
purely for the entertainment of spectators.
Whether the dance was always the same, i.e.,
had specific songs and steps which differenti-

533 5. aiyama´tɨn na pa´nɨn
539 worthless I country [it is understood
Coyote is speaking]

he´yɨn do´mto panɨn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
incoherently by M.L. She could give it no
883 name and said it was participated in by young
people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was
a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want
to take part would be seized by winatums,
laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
796 (taña´yɨn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
262 in the early spring about February to March;
"while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.).
276 Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would
go through the village saying that all those
who wished or intended to participate in the
next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only
did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu
but also "their parents and everyone connected
with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the
ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter
only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until
twelve days after the rite had taken place --
roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
under compulsion. The general purpose was an
787 insurance of future good health and consequent
long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural
276 helpers by this means; much secret
knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g.,
who were evil shamans and who their prospective
victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic
illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
supernatural power might take it each year, or
787 every few years, provided he observed the usual
tabus. A man who desired special power was not
276 differentiated from other participants during
the ritual but behaved and was treated like the
novices.

796 The ritual leader was "aŋy man" who knew
how to administer the drink safely and who was
276 of good character, i.e., "who had never killed
anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man"
(M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation,
set the day for the rite, and it
was announced twelve days in advance by a wina-
[262] tum. Thereafter the participants drank only
thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices
went to the leader and arranged the details of
their grandchildren's participation. An experienced
participant did not necessarily need
a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might
have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš:šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the
assembly space where blankets were laid out
for them. Each child had a blanket, an indi-
vidual drinking basket, and two women sponsors
[the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
the youths to pay attention to what they would
276 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying
787 that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

---

[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the
individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the
quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes
a second dose had to be given if the
initial amount was not effective. The drinkers,
wrapped in blankets, remained near the central
fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the
narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As
each one became unconscious, he was carried
into a shelter where his women attendants took
charge. One held his head in her lap, the
other his feet, and both gently rocked the
child and sang as he slept. The mother and
father stood by watching; they could not be
present if they had eaten meat. The chief function
of the attendants was to guard against
flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up
in fright and rush out never to be seen again"
(M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the
ritual were held to blame for carelessness.
Such flights usually occurred in the morning
following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in
during the first twelve to eighteen hours.
Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
time they were expected to awake several women
276 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could
533 give no reason other than that she often sang,
danced, etc., in public performances. The
songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you
should wake up," or "Get up and drink more
tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered
then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka taña´ya	lu´lhe’	lula´lhe’
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
276 person would come, give the drinker a feather
755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said,
usually appeared as swarms of insects to the
intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these
microcosms were brushed into a fire they made
a popping noise audible only to the drinker.
The person was invariably cured: "even cancer
was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burdenstrap
276 toward his mother, immediately brushed
her off, believing that it was a snake trying
787 to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband
took tañai and saw "the railroad before it
came; he saw something moving around without
any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he
ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker,
[754] he confided this to his parents (provided they
had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What
was done with such information was not stated.

796
276 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always
blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat
and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say.
Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a
poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances
permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poul-
tices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

[P. 120 a] Wukchumni

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in 276 Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 [237] The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

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[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

[P. 120b] Wukchumni

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
also a person with Bear tptem, sat at one side
[534] and used a cocoon rattle.^ The dancers stood in
a row, with the most powerful or important man
[554] at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
[516] palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
535 jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained in her place and, with feet together and heels off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls of her feet. The upper part of her body and her shoulders she turned to right and left on alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer
whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
real bears' antics; they were said often "to
825 dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

^[in the Bear Dance. -Analyst]

[P.121 a] Wukchumni

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 237 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers in their hands. [534] At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 533 539 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] [237] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

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[270] Handbook, 517.

[P. 121 b] Western Mono NS25 NS25
Patwisha

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

> This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!".

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

> This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ·pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

> ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
> catfish, catfish, catfish
>
> e´b·se, e´b·se, e´b·se
> trout, trout, trout

796 539 533

koko´čo, koko´čo, koko·´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 [756] [184] M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´kɨt, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows: 796 756

> ...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

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[271] Ibid., 507.

● 796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with
[534 him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa´hɨd or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´mɨš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

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[272] Ibid., 504-506.

[p. 123 a] Wukchumni

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 522 237 [613] While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene. There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the [302] eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 522 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the snake pit, and there lie down with her pre- [786] tending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭɨpni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

796
825 Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

224 The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušlɨlɨn get snakes for a dance at Maštɨnao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´mɨs. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu˝čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or mɨts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokonɨk (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiwɨn (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on. [285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi˝čɨt, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

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[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

[P. 124a] Wukchumni

●796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning
was held at one- to three-year intervals by
each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The
number and financial status of bereaved persons
determined its frequency. The ideal was an
annual occurrence, which was the normal sched-
[556] ule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or
Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the
bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was
not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod
would hold the ceremony once in three or four
years. Three to six families would sponsor the
affair with, of course, coöperation from their
chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums
of money which they now gave to the chief.
Amounts were added to this by the chief, his
subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other
villages of his tribe and the especially ap-
pointed tuye'i who functioned only at this
time -- and by any other persons, men or women,
[426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed
money for this at the regular rate of 50 per
cent interest as a pure business investment,
for reasons made clear below. The whole amount
[436] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent
to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course,
shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called
lakana´nːč and followed an established method.
431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected
as the recipient; but this tribe was not the
437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or of-
ficial washers, although there was no rule that
it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were
usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of
the sum were to return it with 100 per cent
interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum
plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

[P. 131b] Wukchumni

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money could have them go into this fight if they
756 liked."

789 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tɨs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonɨk, although J.B. had seen Ma´mɨl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana´ñɨt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowɨš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´mɨts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
● 796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[284] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

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[284] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 133 a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?] 668 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers 796 would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´pawɨč, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

668 796 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago: J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text continued on Top of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text continued in middle of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

[P. 133b] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·´towɨd kam (to-
be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
● 796 women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
535 was in the center, but many fires from en-
circling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went
to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from
meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and
Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
668 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation
of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a – August]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

361

103
1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´hɨntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L.m.k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

●796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni ˜ša); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

[P, 1369] Chukaimina

●796 mourning or for mother (ɛplaˊoiša); Shamans' Contest (hešaˊoišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiyaˊla); [rattlesnake, ṭeˊ'el]; shaman's pleasure dance (kaˊmkam).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

769 Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at

[P. 136 b] Chukaimina

769 Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, Chukaimina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.

No. said her father, Makaˊna, participated
796 in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pušl.l.n. "They had little whistles to call the snakes." She never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M. told her."

756 791 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24] who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 765 Pleasure dance.--A dance (hɨ´šɨš na´mɨt) performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hɨšɨš namɨt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɨt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɨ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

● 796 276 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But [787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

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[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭɪ´pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

The participants waited six days before
796 touching meat, then they had a little party (wi´te luni´ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

The mythological source of jimsonweed was
773 not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni´ša)
769 lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[P. 152 a] Choinimni

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day, the ritual washing («pla´o'iša) was performed.
783 The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
535 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not
184 covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment after the washing ritual.

Guksai.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 Bear Dance.--As described by P.D.W. this dance is like the form reported from the Lake
535 tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done
535 in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance re-
796 galia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču')
skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
535 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him;
he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a´la)
796 was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes
a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušlɩ´lɩn, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he
would get some other snake "doctors." In three
[224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They
brought them home in cagelike baskets which
they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušlɩlɩn most frequently gave this cermony; Pušlɩlɩn was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kaplɩlɩn did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in
Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance.
[302] The people put black and white paint on their
faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, e.

[P. 157 9] DUMNA

756 754 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

● 796 756 A shaman's display dance was usually done outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samɨs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yɨn wa´tiyɨ tɔ´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lɨt a´mam hača´ka'ɨč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭɨpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭɨpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tɨpni." The incisions were made with a piece of glass and the
[237] "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na˙ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´lɨk) and supernatural power (tɨpni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776
177 He conceived God as God (not tɨpni or Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the yaˇyɨl hawk and son of Eagle.

773
821 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´olɨč, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

● 796
276 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

796 276 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[752 184] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Coʹkonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

[P.161b] Kechayi

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception
of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see
below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the
dance would, if possible, be moved into a large
● [79] dwelling. But this was only if it was purely
for entertainment. No ritual was ever held
indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
people long ago." She had never seen but one
184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick)
near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry
is within range of the Western Mono groups who
[439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece.
No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less
made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of
276 tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched;
it grew best on burned ground. When beginning
to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by
[887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in
bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and
pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with
berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded
with the tobacco. The resulting powder was
moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried.
In this condition it was called šo´gən. The
[184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the
Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but
thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture
[787] was customary among people wanting to induce
supernatural dreams, or those who sought good
health "by keeping their stomach clean." The
tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters
(ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded
together in a small mortar, moistened, and
licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin
481 River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or
possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed
coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A
swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left
hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal
and forearm swinging downward in an arc,
to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind,
but there was no splashing. In the same
way a man might hold a baby or small child on
[758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would
push a log ahead of them on which a sick or
infirm person would ride astride. A two-log
raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M.
[186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good
swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor
swimmers.

Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at
516 this small reservation all people sat on chairs.
E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips,
[201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

[P. 165 b] Kechayi

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

● 796 These rites were all called nahala'oxa, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 222 616 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 616 796 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

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[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

[P. 166 a] Kechayi

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile
the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
616 acorns, of which they had not yet partaken.
796 Members of each moiety cooked the foods which
they were responsible for, and a general feast
was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed
in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to
262 the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the
616 "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered.
It seems difficult to believe that a
staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely,
but E.M. was positive in her statements.
The tabu included antelope. "They
used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would
necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or
spokesman (yate'‹č) went about "telling the
women to get their acorns ready because there
would be deer for supper." He said that "deer
is the best meat and, if any one failed to
come, a little piece would be saved and taken
[252] to him." The deer were then cut up, the head
roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled.
The chief was given a ham, considered the best
part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work
during the last three months of pregnancy.
There were no definite food tabus before birth,
although some women ate only soft food from
preference. After the birth occurred, the

[P. 171 b] Kechayi

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai´'i kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bxɨn, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

778 The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

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[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

[P. 172a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭɨpni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭɨpni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

● 796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (hɨčɨ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´mɨš [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokonɨk and Ha´tɨš, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ldɨč, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

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[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

● 796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
756 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
carried hand feathers (sonɨl) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
535 All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
[616] E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side
dancing, each with a woman directly behind him.
Then the six men filed in and danced around the
fire, the doctors and women remaining in one
place near it. The men used the "piston-rod"
step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from
a special cycle which was not used on other occasions,
but what they were about E.M. could
not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´osaho)
[343] is called by the name because it starts in
the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in
the nature of the performance inside and out.
"The dance was started inside and then went
outside where everyone could see because Eagle
told the dancers they must dance indoors before
going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This
dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female
dancers who might be of either moiety. The
women were Ši´lat and Wojilɨt (the corpse-handler)
(E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual
[237] breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers
wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped
around their waists, arms, and heads. The headband
535 was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich participants
756 were supposed to look like Eagle; their
faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers
had red faces with black spots, and a black
area all around the mouth. Men and women were
painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start
in the sweat house were the women participants.
People crowded around, not all could get in,
and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´'ɨn
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´hɨl
and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho'ɨn
ṭɨpni). They were not regarded as doctors,
just men with a specific kind of supernatural
power. Their dance was obviously comparable
in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni
Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling
display and in its lack of relation to the
acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear
would tell the dancer to go far back in the
mountains. There two bears would come to him
during the night and hug him to protect him
from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights
and danced by himself. Then when he came in he
danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[P. 173 9] Kechayi

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
● 796 for.

E.M. saw Gohɨl and another Bear dancer
named Jo´nɨš do the dance. They wore the vertical
feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237 their chests. The whole bear skin was not
used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to
look like Bear," and covered their arms and
bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the
first, they took turns: one sang while the
other danced and vice versa. On the second,
they both sang and danced together. There was
no change in dress or dancing on the second
night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in
accompaniment. The actual dance was very short,
"like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step.
It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and
frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokonɨk's daughter, who sometimes
789 danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohɨl turned into a bear sometimes,
and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse."
He transformed himself and danced around the
fire and "went around the country scaring
people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ɨč, another
Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during
pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character
616 representing Coyote gave a clownish performance.
E.M. did not remember the name of
any man who did this, but said he must have
been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back,
with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks.
Paint was applied to his face and body
"any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about,
grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and
making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance
done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these,
however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half
the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw
Čokonɨk do at a Gashowu village. It was done
day or night at any time of year. The doctor
danced around the public fire and told what
kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would
come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing
or of plants: "he just told what his
power showed him." This performance was supposed
to benefit the crops for the coming
season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River
was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

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[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father
doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some
feathers in water and prayed; the wind came
first and then rain.

Snake ritual.--This was not performed
184 north of Kings River: "the best doctors were
● 796 always that way [south]." But in spring every-
751 one wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-
gathering; this made the snakes rattle while
still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ʹša) of drinking jimson-
weed (ta ʹñai) was held each spring by the
276 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimson-
weed herself but had seen it administered at
Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi
man named Hoi ʹyop (lupine). After consultation
with the village chief, the date for the ritual
was publicly announced. The announcement had
to be made at least twelve days in advance,
during which time prospective participants as-
sumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The
drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age,
of both sexes. While the ritual was given in
the early spring of each year, only rarely did
a person participate annually. The ultimate
purpose was "to have good health," but it is
unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the im-
mediate aim, which we can only presume from
other information was to obtain a helping
spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the parti-
cipants left home and were housed in the homes
of relatives living some distance away. They
[292] all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened
up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drink-
ers assembled outside the village, where they
were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of
jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran
once around the village (they did not jump over
a hoop). The leader then went to the usual as-
sembling spot for the village; as he approached
he sang and talked saying that "ţ·pni is coming."
There he mashed up the plants in a large basket
and poured water over them. The drinkers were
arriving also, each with a woman singer follow-
ing. The spokesman (yate'·č) was present: he
[554] told them to come closer to the central basket;
when the drink was ready, he pointed out the
order in which it was to be administered, who
was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone
present sat down. Then the leader filled small
baskets with the decoction and gave one to each
participant. He sang continuously. At his
signal all drank: there was no "delayed offer-
ing" of the drink. Usually the effects were
felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

[P. 1749] Kechayi

796 276 around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began [755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

[262] The effects wore off in about one week, but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 [624] The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winaṭum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the [616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six *days. Every morning and evening the mourners* went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owɨč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was [237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

769 789 He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

769 756 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
participant. There were usually "four or five
756 doctors on each side." The fires for their
"airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some
people cried while this was going on but they
didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a
large fire. Four times during the night the
mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing
their deceased relatives; these were distinguished
by sex, and a man carried a male
doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners
carried baskets, beads, and objects of value.
While they were marching around, the visiting
spokesman (yate'·č) rose and said, "Cry! This
is the last time you will cry for a long time."
After the fourth circuit of the fire had been
made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies,
stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads,
feathers], which were distributed among the
visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (ɛpla´oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the
mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite
moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] *each family by some other family of the opposite*
moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning
families had with them money or food which
they gave the washers, and in turn received
new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the
day and night was spent in feasting, games, and
dancing. At night a dance would be made by
some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt,
wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets,
carrying "hand feathers," and having
white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

●796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
participation in the Ghost Dance has been published
668 in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement
will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to
the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic]
named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono
(Pajo´'oj) companion. They urged everyone to
come because "the father" and all the dead
relatives would appear, and further, anyone who
did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi´'i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 175a] Kechayi : Chuckchansi

796 668 carried a long painted cane so people would recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die." and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

[778] The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, ---Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 648 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101 131 103

lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an•u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

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[648] [77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 775b] Kechayi
Chuckchansi.

796 668 [778] which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[301 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain

131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 131 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.] [152 186]

166 222 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[P. 199 b] Chukchansi

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

[P. 203 a] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was de-
scribed, but J.R. gave a few generalities.
Dancing groups were usually composed of four
dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers
wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers
around the neck [sic], and something around the
head "that looked kind of funny." They might
[302 have specks of white paint on their faces, or
sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern
439] Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint.
Often the Miwok used it when they came over for
a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His
[534 only instrument was the split elderwood clapper,
about ten inches long. This was "waved up and
533] down to make it crack while he was singing."
The singer sang, then paused for an interval of
rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near
Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family
344 "lived and died." There was a large burying
ground there. Today (?) there is still a big
round [dance] house which the three captains,
assisted by a white man, built. The white man
contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done,
622 they called their people to a big assembly fire.
● 796 There were many people. If a festivity was
planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how
long it was to last, and what singers, dancers,
and guests should be told to come. Men were
dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one
week. The hosts provided the food. In the
evening three or four men would dance, and
sometimes as many women. Guests from other
places also performed; each dance was said to
[624] be different. There were certain men [dance
managers] who went about giving instructions;
the managers went in groups of three or four.
[526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces,
football, hoop and pole played by the women,
and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

[P. 203b] Chukchansi

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796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. [177] A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

[775] A group of people came from Bishop Creek and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

[535] They danced in a circle, men and women holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. [302] However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks [illegible] there were about three of these dances in [illegible]rs. There was the first at Wasamo [or at A[illegible] ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell'[illegible]hich is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

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776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After 754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

[P. 245b. Western Mono ~25

W Y 789 Sumιk was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

791 There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti ´šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sumιk who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ainιč). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sumιk died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sumιk and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sumιk threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

W ● Y ● 796 276 Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

W Y [756] At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

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[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

[P. 246 a] Western Mono N:25

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796 take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take 276 it at the same time as the plain people. There [754] were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just [751] to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta´ñai wa´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. W Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over Y and fall down." They were carried, by persons [343] assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

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[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

[P. 246b] Western Mono NS25

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taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

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Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ıč broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

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At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

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The jimsonweed plants (taña´ñib^{u}) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki´lɛš and Koti´diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

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[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tušao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonɩk and Pušlɩlɩn, who were snake doctors (te´ɩ´li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya´´ɩn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

[P. 247b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS 25

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɪk and Pušlɪlɪn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya´'ɪn, maiya´'ɪn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

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[541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

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Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (nohoʼo kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´ʼo who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

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Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

[P. 248 b] ~~Western Mono~~ NS25

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Y [illegible]en, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
996 Il·´pča. (Il·´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

> The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'·č, but they were paid for doing this.
>
> The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
> W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief
> Y would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
> 796 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a
> 541 little fire at which the shaman manufactured invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told
> 789 where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the
> 756 shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.--This dance (h· ˇš·šnə´n·č)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

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[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

[P.252a] Western Mono 525

W Y 769 783 556

within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W ● Y 668 ● 796 [177]

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (kaˊman soiˊwɩš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177]

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Taˊpunači. (The only one living in 1926 was Yaˊki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Taˊkaš (Little George) and his brother, Košoˊwi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574]

The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

W Y [775]

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a nɨm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´nɨl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´barɨn, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 831]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

[P. 253-9] Western Mono NS25

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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

[P. 253b] Western Mono NS 25

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. B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

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[302]

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

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[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

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616 This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the
●796 Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the
Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals,
[171] of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed,
redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this
intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among
the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of
582 brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok
this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such
611 children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social
organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that
they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the
556 rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to
622 the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to
773 bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige
at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to
622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The
[562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs,
it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that
chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual
single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi.
622 There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity
applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The
authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they
were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

881 276 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days. When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]
> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 881 276 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna, among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat differently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. [787] Men would experience or obtain what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

● 796 756 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medicine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during 796 the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, 756 they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing [787] the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal.

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it [825] was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor."

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompani- [198] ment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets [302] and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year.

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of suck- [1755] ing. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own.

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

●796 ·756 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]
The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poison" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashowu; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

101 131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the 622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was 361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 576 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 574 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 716 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut,* last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the T*ulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind
when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to
825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary
of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more
776 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I.
825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest
[285 rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On
some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back
531] rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water
[237 skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot
feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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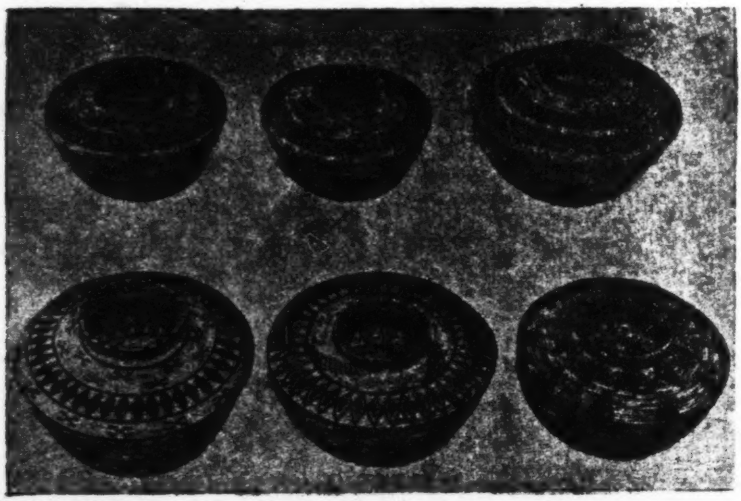

Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796 It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

● 796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

"When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
796 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
159 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake
756 dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I
saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
[751] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

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Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live. 796 756

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on down-feathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. 522

159 756 796 ● "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People 751 take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snakebit that summer.

522 "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu 159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to 755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that 796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 756 796 522 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville, Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*, 159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take 796 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard 777 kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snakebit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattle- 198
snake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

756 He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to
● 796 know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't
understand 'em."

198 This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

539 *O, Chochin witche pah*
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah - - - - - - yah!
(Everyone hear me).

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring 221
plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill 132
shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant 805
drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the
staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal 221
cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly 796
the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and
water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths [866]
and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and
bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power
and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although 221
men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were
patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main
storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as
needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and [276
tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By 787]
mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating.
Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed
crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking 221
of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: 796
dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later 787
in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended
by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical
period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained,
and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the
conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and
meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful 221
blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed 301
like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of 824
both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

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[10] Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

[11] Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four
flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures,
and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during
the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and
concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side
226 ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared,
after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others
partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had
feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the
484 general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and
families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish
and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads
of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There
were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated;
children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

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[12] Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

221 the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty 361 mile span, on the average, for anyone. 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for 221 people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, con- 164 taminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were 221 made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life 769 plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luníša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory [426] loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the [574] hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game [431] playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō'o 221 ka'maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the 796 Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting per- [613] formance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow [574] the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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[13] A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

[14] Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

221 796 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 484 [501] Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon *country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently* to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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[15] The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

[16] Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

[17] A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

[18] Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from 825
its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down [782]
offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most
highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became
a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude
on the part of the animal tutelary .

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures 825
in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by 224
persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience
of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to
observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that
animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their
prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would
no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the
transgressor.

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home 825
which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people
were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was
from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and [778
Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though 776]
the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably
it was "power" (ṭiˊpni) that forced success.

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively 796 ●
the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made
of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world.
Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises,"
which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in
nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's
puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception
of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the

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[21] A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but [585]
the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might
be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first.

796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the 769 private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 796 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[31] 796 622

> My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

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[31] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

796 826 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

> 614 [787] The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.
>
> All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

> A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kitceyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. [755] Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did [782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

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[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

757 pihe sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. [172] A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

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ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791
chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796
arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302]
either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177]
Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535
inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177]
from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181
a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648
take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177]
of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302
appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites. 583

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585
virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435
anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the 834
arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. B. Bate-

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907

NS29 Yokuts NS29

782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. 192 Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer. 539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

● 796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. 539 With each phrase he motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. 192 After the third phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect. [788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tōwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tūwshiut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashiut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. 192 When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it. 539 823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun. 192 539

heucitka-nan		mitèni	opòui
leave	me	with-a-little	sun
anè	nan	yòt·au	tcomcot'k (or tcom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heucit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom
115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts
789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.
796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who
789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him
578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans
791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of
789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

796 He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground,
789 picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made
791 certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

791 After telling about the successful display of power by the
789 weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they
[222] would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

791 José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he
was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu
(Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard
of the old man's power and promised him that if he could
bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved
of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman
was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent
promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman
produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy
that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the
old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man
obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food,
and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite
jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home
at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco,
and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,)
to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[778] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers
were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman
had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would
cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents
of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's
grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was
twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism
and what was taking place when the young Kernville
man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended
by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand
fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He
asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained
them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

796 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys
825 following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

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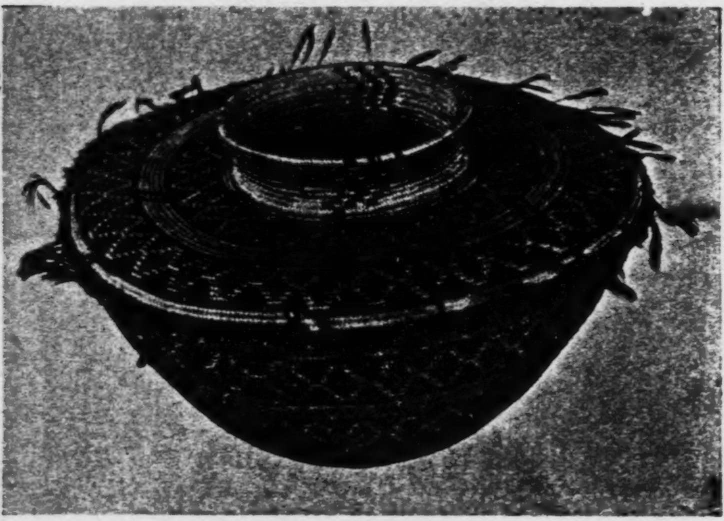

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be-
[789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

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pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor
152 then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

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In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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[177] songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually 178 from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.
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[171] Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

[796] Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

[171] All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[8] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor
Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to
the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131).
[796] Ceremonials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[8] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.